

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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SHAPEUSNR

C O N F I D E N T I A L ROME 11538

US DOCOSOUTH FOR INTAF
SHAPEUSNR FOR POLAN

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, IT
SUBJECT: ANDREOTTI'S PROSPECTS FOR SUCCESS

SUMMARY: CONTRARY TO EARLIER INDICATIONS (ROME 11128),
ALL THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC (DC) LEADERS WHOM
WE HAVE CONTACTED DURING THE PAST COUPLE OF DAYS ARE NOT
ONLY SANGUINE THAT ANDREOTTI WILL SUCCEED IN PUTTING
TOGETHER A GOVERNMENT BUT THAT HE CAN DO SO WITHOUT THE
DIRECT OR INDIRECT PARLIAMENTARY SUPPORT OF THE
COMMUNISTS. IT IS HIGHLY UNUSUAL TO FIND SUCH CONSENSUS
IN THE PARTY AT SUCH AN EARLY STAGE OF GOVERNMENT
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FORMATION. WHETHER THIS NEW STATE OF AFFAIRS IS DUE TO

THE USUALLY HOT JULY WEATHER OR TO AN ACCURATE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC JUDGMENT THAT THE SOCIALISTS WILL HAVE NO CHOICE BUT TO BACK ANDREOTTI ONLY TIME WILL TELL. WHAT IS CLEAR IS THAT THE OPTIMISM IN THE DC HOUSEHOLD SURFACED ONLY AFTER THE ALMOST SIMULTANEOUS DESIGNATION OF ANDREOTTI AND RESIGNATION OF SOCIALIST LEADER DEMARTINO. THE ELECTION THIS MORNING OF "AUTONOMIST" BETTINO CRAXI TO SUCCEED DEMARTINO AS HEAD OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY, WILL, IF ANYTHING, REINFORCE DC OPTIMISM, END SUMMARY.

1. DURING THE PAST TWO DAYS OR SO, WE HAVE TALKED TO FOUR OF THE TOP DC LEADERS AND TO A SUBSTANTIAL NUMBER OF LESSER LUMINARIES, BOTH OLD AND NEW AND SPANNING THE ENTIRE FACTIONAL SPECTRUM OF THE PARTY. THEY WERE ALL AGREED THAT, GIVEN THEIR STRONG ANTI-COMMUNIST STAND, BOTH AT THEIR MARCH CONGRESS AND DURING THE RECENTLY CONCLUDED (AND SUCCESSFUL) ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN, THE DC COULD NOT AND WOULD NOT ACCEPT SOCIALIST DEMANDS FOR SOME SORT OF COMMUNIST FORMAL ASSOCIATION WITH THE NEW GOVERNMENT'S PARLIAMENTARY MAJORITY.

2. A MINISTER AND LONG TIME CONFIDENT OF MORO WENT SO FAR AS TO STATE THAT THE DC SHOULD EVEN RESIST SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST PRESSURES FOR "PROGRAMMATIC ACCORD" WITH THE COMMUNISTS ON AN "EMERGENCY ECONOMIC PLAN," SUCH AS THAT SUGGESTED BY REPUBLICAN LEADER LAMALFA EARLIER THIS YEAR AND ORIGINALLY ACCEPTED, IN PRINCIPLE AT LEAST, BY MANY CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS IN A LAST DITCH EFFORT TO AVOID EARLY ELECTIONS. THE SAME SOURCE WAS FAVORABLE TO A DISCUSSION AND/OR CONSULTATION WITH THE COMMUNISTS ON THE NEW GOVERNMENT'S EMERGENCY PROGRAM PROVIDED THAT A "CLEAR DISTINCTION" IS KEPT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT'S MAJORITY AND THE COMMUNIST OPPOSITION.

3. TYPICAL OF THE RATIONALE THAT UNDERPINS DC OPTIMISM IS THAT OUTLINED TO US WEDNESDAY BY A PROMINENT LEADER OF THE MODERATE WING OF THE PARTY. CONFIDENTIAL

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ACCORDING TO THIS VIEW, A SOCIALIST DECISION TO OPPOSE ANDREOTTI MIGHT WELL RESULT IN ANOTHER DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT AND EARLY ELECTIONS WHICH THE SOCIALISTS FEAR WOULD DECIMATE THEM AS THE LAST ONES DID THE SMALLER PARTIES. EVEN MORE UNPALATABLE FOR THE SOCIALISTS IS THE PROSPECT THAT ANOTHER INCONCLUSIVE ROUND OF ELECTIONS MIGHT WELL USHER IN THE "HISTORIC COMPROMISE" BETWEEN THE DC AND THE PCI AND

SPELL THE END OF THE SOCIALISTS AS A RELEVANT POLITICAL FORCE IN THE COUNTRY. OUR SOURCE BELIEVES THAT THE REALIZATION OF THIS TWIN DANGER HAD FORCED THE MORE "PRAGMATIC" ELEMENTS OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY TO MOVE AGAINST DEMARTINO AND THUS PAVE THE WAY FOR A CHANGE OF COURSE. HE ALSO SPECULATED, APPARENTLY CORRECTLY, THAT MANCINI (FORMER SECRETARY AND THE MOST "PRAGMATIC" OF THE PSI LEADERS) WOULD EMERGE AS THE KINGMAKER IN THE PARTY. ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL REASONS THE DC HAD PROPOSED ANDREOTTI AS PREMIER WAS BECAUSE OF HIS WELL-KNOWN CLOSE TIES WITH MANCINI AND HIS FOLLOWERS.

4. WE BELIEVE THAT IT IS PREMATURE FULLY TO ESPOUSE PRESENT DC OPTIMISM, WHICH, AS A RESULT OF THE CHANGES IN THE PSI LEADERSHIP, MAY WELL TURN INTO EUPHORIA. NEVERTHELESS, IT IS CLEAR THAT THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN LESS GROUNDS FOR OPTIMISM REGARDING A MORE FAVORABLE SOCIALIST ATTITUDE TOWARD ANDREOTTI'S EFFORTS WITHOUT THE EARTHQUAKE IN THE SOCIALIST HOUSEHOLD. THE ELECTION OF AUTONOMIST" CRAXI TO THE SECRETARYSHIP AND THE EMERGENCE OF THE MANCINI GROUP AS A KEY ELEMENT IN NEW LEADERSHIP'S MAJORITY ARE THE MOST PROMISING DEVELOPMENTS THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS COULD HAVE HOPED FOR TO MOVE THE SOCIALISTS AWAY FROM THEIR RIGID DEMANDS REGARDING COMMUNIST ASSOCIATION WITH THE GOVERNMENT. WHETHER THAT WILL BE SUFFICIENT TO GUARANTEE ANDREOTTI'S SUCCESS IS ANOTHER MATTER. A MID-LEVEL SOCIALIST OFFICIAL WHO WAS INVOLVED IN THE MANEUVERS WHICH RESULTED IN THE CHANGES IN HIS PARTY'S LEADERSHIP, FLATLY PREDICTED TO US LAST NIGHT, "ANDREOTTI WILL PASS." HE THOUGHT SOCIALIST SUPPORT FOR ANDREOTTI WOULD NOT GO BEYOND PARLIAMENTARY

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ABSTENTION, BUT HE WAS "SURE" THAT THE SOCIALISTS "WOULD NOT BECOME RESPONSIBLE FOR ANDREOTTI'S FAILURE" BY INSISTING ON THEIR OLD DEMANDS FOR COMMUNIST PARTICIPATION IN THE GOVERNMENT'S MAJORITY. HE SAID THAT THE REAFFIRMATION OF OLD SOCIALIST POLICIES CONTAINED IN THE "POLITICAL DOCUMENT" APPROVED BY THE NEW PARTY DIRECTORATE LAST NIGHT SHOULD BE DISREGARDED AS IRRELEVANT TO THE ACTUAL INTENTIONS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE NEW CRAXI MAJORITY LEADERSHIP.VOLPE

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